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17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS) Research findings on the perceptions, aspirations, and values of Negro and white high school students are reported. Data are based on a questionnaire administered to four groups including: all students from an urban and a rural Negro segregated Southern high school; all students from a white segregated high school in each of the same two communities; a 25 percent random sample of Negro and white students in an interracial high school in a large, midwestern, industrial community; and a 25 percent random sample of Negro students in an all-Negro high school in a large Northern city. Among the findings are the following: at every status level, Negro parents have less education than white parents of similar backgrounds. For both races, educational achievement is lowest for rural youth. More Negroes come from broken homes at each class level than do whites. The lower the class background of white youth, the lower are their mobility aspirations; however, over 80 percent of the Negro students at each class level want to go to college. Unlike the whites, Negro females are more likely to want a college education than Negro males. More Negroes from Southern segregated schools want to attend college than those from Northern schools. Expectations in terms of occupational placement are lower for Negroes. Negroes at Southern segregated schools match expectations with aspirations more than do those in Northern schools. Negro youth are less likely than white youth to perceive goal consensus between themselves and teachers. Positive perceptions are found where Negro students refer to Negro teachers. Educators should move from the concept of the interracial school to a totally integrated one, both socially and academically, even though many segregated Negro schools are superior to interracial Northern ones. Disadvantaged Negroes and whites do not see goal consensus between classroom activities and their own ends; thus, educational emphasis should be on immediate benefits of education rather than on long range plans. More systematic and realistic research with disadvantaged children should be conducted.																			
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GOAL ASPIRATIONS AND GOAL FULFILLMENTS:
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DEPRIVED AND AFFLUENT AMERICAN ADOLESCENTS

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
Office of Education

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Perhaps the most vital task faced by any society once it has established an efficient system of social control, is the training of the young for responsible adulthood. The reason seems quite apparent; if a society is to flourish and maintain itself over time, it must continuously supply the human resources which are essential to the functioning of that society.

The task of formal socialization is for the most part in the hands of adults. When adult expectations are fulfilled by youth, conflict between generations is kept at a minimum; there is little anxiety about the transmission and continuity of cultural values, little concern for the future of the society. When, however, the system of beliefs held by youth is not in harmony with attitudinal and value expectations of the adult governing body, there may be serious consequences for the functioning of the society. Recently we have sufficient evidence to suggest that there is a very real lack of harmony between the values held by youth and those held by adults.

Coleman, in his study of adolescent behavior, proposes that there is in fact a distinct youth culture; an adolescent society selfcontained with "only a few threads of connection with the outside adult society."¹ While we might view the conclusions drawn by Coleman as disturbing -- since he sees American adolescents as more frivolous and more likely to be concerned with personal popularity than intellectual curiosity -- there is some evidence that these youth, in due time, will become an integral part of their community and society. There is further evidence that the majority will go through college; that they will acquire skills and abilities which will enable them to compete in our complex and highly technological occupational market.

¹ James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society, Free Press, New York, 1961, p. 4

Although these youth may be growing up in an absurd manner and are products of a society that makes adolescence a rapidly vanishing phase of life, these youth will in all probability become part of the middle class culture.²

There is, on the other hand, a second group of youth for whom the future is not so certain. These are the youth who have been described as the "impoverished," the "culturally deprived," the "lower class," "working class," the "socio-culturally deprived," and the "socially and culturally disadvantaged."

Unfortunately the use of these broad classificatory terms has caused us to make some rather sweeping generalizations about large segments of the population without noting exactly what groups we are talking about and how these groups vary in a number of important areas.

My preference -- since we must have some classification in order to make precise whom and what we are talking about would be the "culturally alienated." By culturally alienated I do not mean those who as a result of some physical or psychological condition are unable to function within the boundaries of our society in some acceptable fashion. On the contrary, the culturally alienated I refer to consist of people who for all practical purposes have both the physical and psychological skills which are needed for social integration within the framework of American society.

By culturally alienated I do not mean the "lower class" or lower socio-economic strata as identified by many sociologists when referring to those who tend to fall at the bottom of some vertical scale measuring occupational status. There are many people in our society who are neither professionals or skilled workers who are still very much an integral part of their community

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See Edgar Z. Friedenberg, The Vanishing Adolescent, Boston: Beacon Press, 1939 and Paul Goodman, Growing Up Absurd, New York: Random House, 1960.

and its social institutions. By the culturally alienated I do not mean those whose ethnic background indicates migration to this country from other nations several generations back. For all practical purposes those who came to this country in the early 1900's have been acculturated and are now a working part of American life.

By the culturally alienated I mean those people who have a cultural background which both minimizes successful entrance into our highly technical society and which frequently stands in contrast to the dominant middle class culture. Specifically this group would be the more recent immigrants to our large urban centers who have come primarily from rural and often provincial backgrounds.

I refer to the American Negro, the Puerto Rican, the Mexican and the Southern White. Again, there is need for further clarification in reference to these ethnic groups. I am not speaking of the middle class Negro who has found his place in some profession and in a fairly nice, even though at times segregated neighborhood. While he does not enjoy all of the privileges of other Americans his position is far better than that of the uneducated, unemployed Mexican living within the Inner city of Los Angeles. He knows more, enjoys more, and can do more than the Puerto Rican janitor who makes his home in an East Side New York City ghetto. His hopes and expectations for his children can be placed on a higher plane than the goals held by a Negro on the Chicago welfare rolls.

Yet even with this narrowness in categorization, we run the danger of oversimplification in terms of goals, perceptions, values and expectations of those who have been identified as the culturally alienated. Although there are similarities in the backgrounds and present status of these four groups, there

are obvious differences which must be identified and understood if we are to accomplish the task of socializing all of our youth.

As there were differences and similarities in the experiences of the Jews, Italians, Irish and others who had to be absorbed into the mainstream of American life in years passed, so there are variations between Negroes, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Southern Whites.

In terms of similarities we can say the following about each of the four groups: they have in common the fact that they are recent arrivals to the inner city from predominately rural areas; they are not members of the working class in the sense that behavioral scientists use the term; they are in fact, members of the unskilled, unprofessional, un-white collar, and too-often unemployed class; they tend to be at the bottom of most scales used by those who study human behavior; they are lowest in formal education, they are lowest in income, they are lowest in employment, they are lowest in participation in civic and social organizations and they are lowest in most tests of academic or intellectual performance.

In certain other indices they tend to be among the highest: they are reported to be high on family disorganization, mental illness, many physical illnesses, delinquency, and residential mobility. There are other characteristics of this group that are worthy of our concern even though they are not so easily quantified.

From the observations of teachers, social workers, and social scientists, we get the impression of a bitter people. A people who have an almost fatalistic acceptance of their present status in the total societal setting. There seems to be little feeling that the better things in life can be obtained especially by the means outlined by those who are attempting to change the status of the culturally alienated.

Each of the factors noted here mixed with poverty creates a feeling of intense bitterness and isolation among the culturally alienated. The bitterness stems from the belief that the "good life" as described by mass media is meant for those who live beyond the boundaries of the inner city ghetto. The feeling of isolation arises from everyday experiences which seem to indicate to the culturally alienated that they are not an integral part of American society.

What of the differences between those who are included in the culturally alienated group? Here there appears to be less empirical information available, although we recognize that the problems involved in integrating youth from these various groups will not necessarily be the same.

Negroes, for example, are the largest single detached minority group in our society. Whereas other members of the culturally alienated are to be found in specific regions of the country, the Negro can be found in most urban places in most states. It is apparent that Negroes are no longer content to wait and negotiate and they are now demanding entrance. The evidence is certainly sufficient -- one has only to note the school boycotts, demands for school integration, and changes in the hiring policies of boards of education, and the violence of Cleveland, New York, Chicago, and too many other places. Finally, and perhaps most important, the Negro because of his unique history of alienation in this country presents complex problems for those who are responsible for the socialization of youth.

In order to identify differences and similarities in the social systems of different groups of adolescents we have been conducting research among Negro and white high school students. The remaining portion of this paper will deal with a review of certain findings pertaining to the perceptions, aspirations, and values of these students.

Sample

The data to be discussed here are based on a paper and pencil questionnaire administered to the following samples of youth: 1) all students from two Negro segregated Southern high schools -- one in a rural community of some 14,000 people -- the other a community of over 100,000; 2) all students from a white segregated high school from each of the two communities described above; 3) a twenty-five percent random sample of Negro and white students in an inter-racial high school located in a fairly large midwestern newly industrialized community; 4) a twenty-five percent random sample of Negro students in an all-Negro high school in a Northern community of over one million. This type of sample allows for the controlling of race, socio-economic status, region, and the racial composition of the total school system.

Background Characteristics

We begin with a review of differences and similarities in the background characteristics of the youth.

Using fathers' occupation as a measure of socio-economic status we find that lower class youth, as would be anticipated, are more likely than middle class youth to have parents who have had only a grade school education. With control for race and socio-economic status it was found that at every status level Negro youth report parents with lower educational attainment than white students from similar class backgrounds. For both whites and Negroes, level of educational achievement was lowest for youth from the more rural community.

Similar relationships are found in an examination of data dealing with race, class, and family disorganization. The lower the class background, the higher the reported incidence of divorce or separating. For each class level, Negro youth were three to four times more likely than whites to indicate a broken home. Although differences were not significant, divorce and separation reached the highest level among Negro youth from the two Northern communities.

The number of siblings followed a similar pattern with the lower class Negro youth reporting the largest families.

Aspirations and Expectations

As for occupational and educational aspirations, we find significant differences between Negro and white youth in a number of areas. For the most part, white youth confirm the observations of sociologists who have reported that the lower the class background of the youngster the lower his mobility aspirations. For both Southern and Northern students this pattern is observed. White girls are less likely than white males to indicate a desire for higher education at each class level.

Among Negro youth, this relationship is not found. At each class level, over eighty percent of the students express a desire for college. Unlike their white counterparts, Negro females are more likely than Negro males to state a preference for a college education. This difference no doubt reflects experiences of many of the Negro girls that the woman may have to assume the role of provider and it is best not to be entirely dependent on the contributions of a husband. As for the males: a greater proportion of Negro students from Southern segregated schools indicate a desire for college than

do Negro students from Northern schools. It is among the Negro students in the inter-racial school that the fewest students with college-going intentions are found.

A major difference between Negro and white males can be observed in the types of occupations they choose. Negro youth from each social class and from each type of school are less likely than white counterparts to select those fields which require graduate or professional school training. For both Negro males and females, occupational preferences center about those fields which require either the Bachelor's degree or less than four years of college. Teaching, coaching, social work, nursing, other medical and related service fields are the occupational choices most frequently mentioned.

It would appear then that although there is a college-going desire on the part of many Negro youth, expectations are comparatively low in terms of occupational placement.

Several explanations might be offered to account for this discrepancy. First, Negro youth are less likely than whites to have the funds needed for extended formal education. Secondly, these youth no doubt perceive that the more elite professions are not as yet open to Negroes. Three, because of their more restricted and confined background they are less likely than whites to have had contact with the role models representing a broad range of professional occupations. Finally, Negro youth are, because of their more intimate contact with deprivation, I propose, less able to defer their gratifications for an extended period of time. In other words, they are more likely to select those fields which will provide more immediate rewards even though these rewards are not as great as those found in other professions.

In terms of aspirations and expectations, other significant differences can be observed among Negro youth and between Negro and white youth. Again,

the social class variable holds for the white sample. At each class level the discrepancy between college-going aspirations and expectations decrease when comparisons are made between those from lower to middle to upper strata families. Among the Negro students the social class factors play a less important role. For each strata at least 20 percent of the students who express a desire for college indicate that they do not actually expect to go on to college. Variations are also found between Negro students at the different high schools. Negro students at the Southern segregated schools are more likely than those in the Northern schools to match expectations with aspirations. The greatest discrepancy is found among Negro youth in the Northern inter-racial high schools.

These differences between Negro and white students are further evidence that factors involved in the college-going decision process differ for both groups of students. The lower expectations of Negro youth no doubt reflects the impact of both social and psychological factors. Again, the need for immediate as opposed to deferred gratifications, financial pressures, and a belief that the academic demands of college, may be too difficult to overcome.

The greater college-going expectations of Negro youth in the South is in all probability related to the choice of a specific college. As might be anticipated, Negro youth from the Southern regions were more likely than Negro youth from the Northern sample schools to mention a segregated Southern college among those they would expect to attend granted college acceptance. The colleges mentioned by Northern Negro youth included institutions which are highly selective and whose costs would make entrance either prohibitive or dependent on some stipend assistance.

Social Structure and Value System

In his study of American adolescents, Coleman found that for the most part, students emphasized the importance of non-academic and extra-curricular activities as opposed to academic and intellectual pursuits. With some exceptions this research seems to support his conclusions. A major difference is that Negro youth from the Southern segregated schools place a higher emphasis on the saliency of academic activities than do students from other high schools. Using the same items employed by Coleman, we find that Negro youth from these schools were twice as likely as white students and Northern Negro youth to note "grades" as the primary criteria for peer popularity in their schools. In addition, Negro males from the Southern segregated schools were higher than all others in indicating a preference for academic-oriented (as opposed to shop or vocational) courses. Finally, both Negro males and females from the two Southern segregated schools most often ranked science courses as their "best liked subjects" than did students from the other schools.

Once again the social class factor did not operate in the same manner for Negro and white students. For white males the more affluent groups were most likely to choose the academic subjects, while lower class students endorsed the vocational courses. For the Negro youth, school setting was a better predictor of course performance.

Distinct variations are also to be found when comparisons are made

between these students as to the kinds of school-centered extra-curricular activities in which they participate. Here there is little difference between Negro and white students from the segregated Southern communities. Both groups attend athletic events, participate in academic oriented clubs, and are involved in social activities. In the inter-racial school, on the other hand, Negro youth are most heavily concentrated around attendance at athletic events. Negro girls in this school are more likely than boys to indicate involvement in social activities but not to the extent of white girls. Both Negro males and females in this school are significantly lower in involvement in school social and academic extra-curricular activities than are white students.

Students in the all-Negro Northern high school place a greater emphasis on athletic and social activities than they do on academic activities. For all three functions, however, their involvement is greater than that indicated by youth in the inter-racial school.

Perceptions of the Socializers

A central concern of this research was the testing of a theoretical proposition pertaining to the structure of the youth socialization process. Basically, we took the following position: that if the socializer (the teacher, guidance counselor, social worker, etc.) seeks to move the socializee (the student or client) toward the acceptance of some end goal, three conditions must be in operation in terms of classroom setting. First, the student must see consensus between his goals and those held by the teacher. In other words, if the student fails to see some relationship between what is happening in the classroom and his own goals there will be a lack of involvement or learning on his part. Second, the student must perceive that the teacher has the ability to help him attain his goals; finally, the student must perceive that the teacher has a desire to help him attain his goals.

Within this theoretical framework we hypothesized that involvement between students and teachers would reach a maximum level where the student perceived goal consensus and an ability as well as desire on the part of the teacher in the goal-attainment process. Conversely minimal involvement would be found where perceptions were not of a positive nature.

In addition, it was hypothesized that there would be variations among the different school student populations in the sample with respect to perceptions.

Based on an initial, and by no means complete analysis, we find the following:

There is a relationship between socio-economic status and perception of goal consensus. The higher the class background, the greater the belief that the teacher is aware of and understands the goals of the student.

Differences are found between Negro and white students in that regardless of class background, Negro students see the greater discrepancy between their goals and those they believe are held by teachers. This discrepancy is expressed in part at least by the fact that Negro youth -- significantly more so than white students -- state that they frequently are unable to see the day-to-day value of school, in terms of their goals and expectations. Here is a situation where the student feels that while education is important to the better life there is much in the educational process which is incomprehensible.

There is little difference between racial and class groups in perceptions of the teachers' ability to help the student attain certain goals. There is a significant difference between socio-economic status as well as race in perceptions of the teachers' desire to help the student attain certain goals. Not unlike the first relationship (goal consensus) lower socio-economic youth and especially Negro youth are least likely to perceive the teacher as someone with a desire to facilitate goal attainment.

The preliminary analysis of the data would suggest that the perceptions of Negro youth are not unrelated to the race of the teacher. It seems quite likely that Negro students are more apt to see Negro as opposed to white teachers as understanding their goals and as having a desire to help the student attain goals. The more favorable perceptions of Negro teachers on the part of Negro students should not be too difficult to understand. Certainly, there is much in the experience and observations of Negro youth to lead them to believe that many whites do not have a desire to facilitate goal attainment among Negroes.

A less apparent explanation for observed differential perceptions may be attributed to the unique relationship that can take place between members of the same ethnic or racial group. Within the segregated classroom the Negro teacher can discuss and deal with specific problems unique to Negroes. The inter-racial classroom setting would not be conducive to such discussion even though the teacher might be a Negro.

Summary and Conclusions

Although the sample of schools and students discussed in this research is hardly representative of all high schools and students in all places, the findings do offer some cues as to the problems involved in the socialization of the culturally alienated.

Most important perhaps is the finding that we cannot view all youth from this group as being cut from a common cloth. In a number of important ways Negro youth do differ significantly from whites of similar economic background.

Clearly, Negro youth are less likely than white youth to perceive goal consensus between themselves and teachers. Perceptions as to the desire and ability of teachers to assist in goal attainment follow a similar racial pattern. The more positive perceptions, as noted earlier, are found in situations where Negro youth are referring to Negro teachers.

A conclusion that might be drawn from this paper is that the author sees segregated schools as superior to integrated schools. Clearly, this is not the case -- rather -- the position I am taking is that in some respects the Southern segregated high school may be superior to many inter-racial and Northern segregated schools.

There is in my mind a distinct difference between an integrated and an inter-racial school. The latter is merely a product of bringing together students who differ in race and placing them in the same school. An integrated school, on the other hand, is one where students of both races are distributed equally in the various phases and aspects of the school social system. In the integrated school Negro and white students would not constitute two separate and distinct social systems. A characteristic of many inter-racial schools is a separation of the races in both academic and extra-curricular activities. In these high schools, Negro youth tend to be located in athletics and one or two other extra-curricular activities and are not enrolled in college preparatory programs.

The all-Negro schools found in many of our Northern inner city areas are not, I would propose, achieving the kinds of goals which we hold to be of importance in the formal educational process. As supported by the data reported here, there is a strong tendency for youth in these schools not to be as actively involved in academic oriented extra-curricular activities as are youth in segregated Southern schools. I would speculate that this difference in involvement can be explained in two ways: First, there are more out of school activities available for these youth and secondly there are fewer academic centered extra-curricular programs available in the Northern segregated school.

Carrying this interpretation a step further, I would propose that as the number of Negro youth enrolled in the inner city school increases, there is a decrease in the availability of pre-college oriented functions. It is almost a case of the self-fulfilling prophecy in that expectations are that these are not college-going youth, hence there is no need for college oriented activities.

The same does not seem to be the case in the Southern segregated schools. Here an opposite approach is taken in that the climate established is intended to move the student toward a desire for and a belief in higher education.

A recent report issued through Project Talent (based on a national survey of youth) indicates that as the proportion of Negro youth in a high school increases there is a decline in academic performance and college-going intentions.³ These findings hold even when there was control for socio-economic status and geographical location of the school. Comparisons of all-Negro schools in non-Southern regions with those in Southern areas show that it is only in performance on standardized tests that Northern Negro youth are superior. Incidents of school dropout, absenteeism and delinquency are less likely, according to the Project Talent report, to occur in all-Negro schools within the South.

If we have as our end goal the raising of scores on standardized tests, then perhaps the Northern educational system is best. If, on the other hand, our ultimate end is to socialize young people so that they may become productive and integral members of the total society, then there is a real need to take a closer look at our inter-racial schools.

Having covered several dimensions of the culturally alienated and certain characteristics of Negro youth in different places, we come to the most difficult task of all -- the proposing of ideas that might be employed in order to facilitate the successful integration of these youth. Recognizing that it is easier to pin-point characteristics of a specific group than to

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"Selected Pupil and School Characteristics in Relation to Percentage of Negroes in School Enrollment," Project Talent, University of Pittsburgh, 1963.

develop programs which will bring about change in values, behavior, and status, I would propose the following:

- A. That we recognize that by merely mixing students of different racial backgrounds we have not developed an integrated social system.

There is a need for educators to make a concerted effort to move Negro youth into the total social and academic organization.

- B. In noting that both disadvantaged Negro and white youth are not likely to see goal consensus between what goes on in the classroom and their own ends, it is important that certain curriculum and pedagogical techniques be altered. The emphasis, it seems should not always be on long range or future-directed programs but rather that the student be shown the more immediate benefits of the formal educational process. In part this could be accomplished by using the classroom as a setting for the discussion and possible resolving of current concerns and problems.

- C. Since the culturally alienated youngster, and especially the Negro, perceive few around them who have a desire and ability to help them attain their goals, there is a need to alter our program in the selection and training of those who will be working with these youth.

There is no reason to believe that every individual, by merely completing certain formal educational requirements is able to work with this group of youth. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that it takes a certain kind of person with certain kinds of abilities and feelings to do an effective job. As we are cautious in whom we allow to work with the emotionally disturbed or the physically handicapped so must we practice

discretion in whom we assign the task of socializing the impoverished. There are people who are not able to function with these children. There are adults who are not able to perceive or identify with the plight of this group. There are some people who do not have the patience or the physical stamina to work on a day-to-day basis with youngsters who live by standards and conditions quite unlike those experienced by the middle class. It is better to recognize this factor before we allow an individual to work with these youngsters, rather than take the chance that both the adult and the child will eventually encounter bitter disappointment. It is not an admission of defeat to recognize that one would do better with a different kind of clientele. It is, in fact, an admission of one's own insights and professional status to declare that in terms of the growth of the child and his eventual integration within the society it is better that "I do not become a part of his world at this time."

Aside from the process of professional selection there is a great need to alter our current practices in the preparation of professionals -- be they teachers, social workers, therapists, or guidance counselors -- who are to work with the culturally alienated. It is a waste of time and funds to teach all professionals as if they were all going to go out and work with the same kinds of youth. The professional who is assigned to the inner city area must have special training in the sociology and psychology of this group. The professional must be shown beforehand what to expect in terms of the home conditions of these children, how they perceive the world in which they live and what their world is really like. The professional who is to work with this group must be made familiar with the neighborhood and social institutions of the culturally alienated. A term of practice teaching or field work experience of several months is not sufficient for allowing the individual

to know what his professional duties will be like nor is it sufficient for him to gain insights into a world in which he has little exposure. It is essential that those who feel that they might want to work with these youth have more extensive pre-professional contact with professionals already in the area. Let us keep in mind that not all children in our society represent the middle class and that the techniques appropriate for the middle class youngster will not always suffice in the context of the deprived.

We must, by our actions, make it clear to the child that we not only have the ability to help him attain the better life but that we have the desire to do so. This is not a simple task since words alone will not be enough. We must indicate by our actions that we are committed to the freedom and equality of all men, regardless of their background. We must show the child and his parents that the good life is not the exclusive right of any one class or people. We must also point out that the job cannot be done by the professional himself but must be carried out by the individual who seeks to attain a life of dignity and productivity. We must declare by our actions that we recognize the pain and deprivation that has been encountered by this group but that we also are firmly convinced that the situation is not futile and that change can be accomplished. Again, I emphasize that words alone will not alter the situation. These people have heard all the words -- what is needed now is a symbolic act or deed.

Finally, there is a need for more systematic and realistic research with the culturally alienated. This will mean a working arrangement between educators, counselors, therapists, and the behavioral scientist. The task of socializing the culturally alienated is not the problem of any one group but rather a responsibility of each of us no matter what our professional identity.